A strategic settler colonial research agenda: turning the microscope to move beyond indigenous resistance.

INGS590 Research Report

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Te Whare Wānanga o Ōtākou

Dedication

Dedicated to my hinu mamma, Charmaine Florence van Uitregt (nee Te Kura), the wisest person in my life. She didn't finish school or go to uni or publish anything, but the wisdom she gained from life expressed itself in her all-encompassing aroha for our whānau and everyone around it. Her greatest lesson was her solution to all problems: "you've just got to love them" and I hope it shows in this work. Her hardest lesson is that I will miss her dearly until the day I join her, as she did her mamma. I imagine the world will feel a shockwave of aroha when we next cuddle. Until then, we keep her wairua alive in ourselves and in her mokos.

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RESEARCH REPORT SUMMARY

The report

This research report is a tryptic of essays that: deconstruct how indigenous narratives are understood and defined by the academy; analyses whether indigenous narratives have moved toward self-determination or are stuck in modes of survival and resistance; and, advocates and proposes a structure for the development of a strategic settler colonial research agenda aimed at dismantling oppressive structures of settler colonialism. The ultimate goal of the research is to support the movement of indigenous peoples out of narratives defined by survival and resistance. Each essay can stand alone but create a fuller picture when read together. The first two essays are foundational and serve as broad reviews of the literature and the third synthesises and responds to the ideas that emerge in them. If they were paintings hanging on a wall, the first two essays would sit either side, with the third placed in the middle.

The first essay makes explicit that indigenous narratives are intrinsically linked to, and defined by, settler colonial narratives. If we only focus on understanding and defining the indigenous side of the duality, we will fail to appreciate the reality of those narratives and their causes and limit our ability to develop strategies to move them toward self-determination. I go through the chronology of scholarly approaches to understanding and defining indigenous narratives, articulating how several newer disciplines have emerged out of the anthropological past: indigenous studies; settler colonial studies; and, whiteness studies. While each discipline has either indigenous or settler colonial/white narratives under the microscope, rarely does research bring both of them and their relationality into frame at any one time. This gap appears to be addressed by the brand-new and emerging discipline of indigenous-settler relations and I seek to influence and contribute to that research effort here.

The second essay uses an old but rarely if ever utilised conceptual model of a strategic indigenous research agenda (Smith, 2012; 1999; Fig 1) as a framework to assess whether indigenous narratives are moving toward self-determination or stuck in modes of survival and resistance. It also assesses whether the strategic indigenous research and agenda are supporting that movement. While indigenous modes of revitalisation and resurgence, development, and self-determination are indeed becoming more prominent in scholarly

literature (i.e. narratives are moving), they are still acts of resistance set against the ongoing oppressive structures of settler colonialism. This suggests that for indigenous peoples to lead lives that are not defined by resistance requires the dismantling of the settler colonial structures that subjugate them.

Essay three responds to the needs that arise from the previous two by advocating and proposing a structure for a strategic settler colonial research agenda that mirrors the strategic indigenous research agenda developed by Smith (2012; 1999; Fig 1). The research agenda I propose explicitly seeks to theorise the dismantling of settler colonial power structures and ultimately emancipate indigenous peoples from lives of resistance. The argument is simple: indigenous peoples would not have to resist if there was nothing to resist against. The reality though, is not so simple and breaking down those structures will take enormous concerted effort. I hope the proposed agenda here stimulates renewed research efforts and provides structure and directionality to optimise those efforts. The proposed agenda leverages off the success of the indigenous research agenda and the associated indigenous theories and methodologies, placing indigenous research and researchers to lead its development and implementation.

Each essay opens and is framed by an epigraph that privileges an indigenous voice. An introduction follows along with details of the approach and then a discussion and conclusion that highlight the ideas that emerge.

My perspective and positionality to the research

My research here is born from my lived experience working with First Nations peoples in Australia over the past eight years. I am Australian born and raised but have both Māori (Ngā Rauru and Tūhoe) and Dutch whakapapa (heritage). I was raised and educated in the hegemonic Eurocentric or 'western' culture in Australia and trained as a scientist to the extent that I hold a PhD in Evolutionary Ecology. Before submitting my PhD thesis, I took up work building a research partnership with the Anindilyakwa Land and Sea Rangers on Groote Eylandt in the Northern Territory. I went in with a brown 'white saviour' mentality hoping to teach my Anindilyakwa colleagues the ways and value of ecological sciences. It wasn't long before I realised that I was the one who would be taught a lesson of what a true relationship with, and knowledge of, Country looks like and how the Australian education system and pedagogy could not hope to instil such wisdom in its ecologists. I had an indigenous sea

change of sorts and sought out further engagement with indigenous epistemologies through my work, rather than pursuing ecology.

I then took up a position with the state government in South Australia working to engage with First Nations along Murundi (The River Murray) in environmental infrastructure programs and later in broader water policy and planning. My Nunga (broad term for First Nations peoples from southern parts of South Australia) whānau, colleagues and elders continued to instil in me a different way of relating to and understanding the river and its surrounding landscape. The greatest lesson though, that I took from my time in these roles, was the lack of awareness that settler colonial Australians have of their world view and the cultural biases that it comes pre-loaded with. While that lack of awareness may sound innocuous, it has real implications when non-Indigenous peoples hold and wield power that constrain indigenous rights discourses. The problem is that that power is invisible to most. While I may sound judgemental and accusatory, my grievance is more of a self-reflection. I am one of those settler colonial Australians who wielded power and constrained the progress of First Nations water rights in South Australia. While I have some visibility of the power I wielded, most of it likely remained invisible to me.

I have now moved to Aotearoa to connect with my whakapapa and to build a Māoritanga (Māori-ness) for myself. A big part of that is formalising my indigenous studies in the country that I am indigenous to, through a Masters of Indigenous Studies and this research report. My readings in our *Introduction to Indigenous Theory and Methodologies* paper, allowed me to interrogate my grievance outlined above against the scholarly literature. These readings included my introduction to Smith's (2012; 1999; Fig 1) strategic indigenous research agenda, which gave me the pragmatic idea of a reciprocal strategic research agenda that seeks to make visible and dismantle settler colonial power structures. The aim is to stimulate and provide space for scholars to theorise how settler colonial peoples can relinquish the power inherent to settler colonialism, emancipating indigenous peoples from lives of resistance.

A poignant moment

It would be remiss of me to not share the story of a poignant moment that has influenced my thinking in this space. A few years ago, in Far North Queensland, I was engaging students from the United States in a workshop about indigenous representations in the national identities of Australia and New Zealand. During questions, I was bluntly asked why indigenous race

relations are so much better in New Zealand than they are in Australia. I could certainly understand where she got that impression from but having lived in both countries now and working in indigenous spaces in both, I would question the truth of the matter. She quickly followed by recounting how another member of the teaching staff from a different part of their semester abroad, told them that it was because Māori are a far more warring people than Aboriginal people, implying that Māori fought harder. I wasn't entirely sure why I found that assertion so offensive but have thought about it a lot since.

There are two ways that it is problematic that are pertinent here. First, is that this person gave themselves the power to define something that they have no authoritative way of knowing about. The individual is neither Aboriginal or Māori and has no research or lived experience with either communities. He would have no clue as to how 'warring' either peoples are or how those warring capabilities have influenced the state of indigenous race relations in either country. Second, and I think most alarming, he has squarely centred the outcome of indigenous race relations on indigenous people's capacity to fight back, problematising the indigenous and even setting us in competition. What about the role of settler colonial culture and behaviour in defining indigenous race relations? Whenever I recount this story I include a Derridean flip by problematising the settler colonial. I suggest instead that the sad state of indigenous race relations in Australia derives from the settler foundations as a penal colony of morally questionable people who were abandoned by their motherland. New Zealand, however, was established by free settlers who were much more refined and civil. Whether there is any truth in it is a moot point. My intent is to make explicit the invisible power structure that my colleague enacted by problematising the indigenous and negating settler colonial culpability in defining indigenous narratives. This research report intends to make these power structures explicit and provoke indigenous scholars to theorise how to dismantle them.

ESSAY 1

Understanding indigenous peoples: from anthropology and sociology to indigenous, settler colonial, and whiteness studies.

> *We have a history of people putting Maori under the microscope in the same way a scientist looks at an insect. The ones doing the looking are giving themselves the power to define* (Mita, 1989, p. 30).

Introduction

Human history is replete with narratives of imperialism and colonial conquest that have given rise to the phenomenon of Indigenous peoples. Indigenous peoples are simply those from many areas of the world, with distinct cultures, identities and ways of life, that have and continue to suffer from colonial impositions. Those impositions come from settler colonial peoples who sought to acquire territory, lands and resources (including human resources), and generally followed the trajectory of elimination, displacement, subjugation and assimilation of the indigenous peoples who were already occupying those areas according to their own ways of life. Contemporary indigenous peoples continue to survive and resist those impositions and to defend and protect their ability to live their lives according to their unique identities, cultures and worldviews. What I hope I have made explicit is that there are dual narratives here that are intrinsically linked: the settler colonial narrative and the indigenous narrative. They are dual because what happens in one, defines the other and vice versa. While this may seem an obvious or perhaps moot point, it is important to establish that when trying to understand indigenous peoples, cultures, behaviours and experiences, we are trying to understand something that is intrinsically linked to and defined by coloniser peoples, cultures, behaviours and experiences. Separating the two would only give us one side of the story and perhaps skew a full understanding of either, so best we keep both in frame.

When we have both coloniser and indigenous narratives in frame the power dynamics between the two become obvious. While they influence each other, it is clear that one is more active in defining the other. If we take my description above to be true, we accept that the coloniser phenomenon acts upon the indigenous seeking to eliminate, displace, subjugate

and assimilate it. This is quite distinct from the role of indigenous peoples, who are trying to survive, resist, defend and protect against the actions of the settler colonial peoples. Again, this may seem an obvious point, but it is one that I argue needs to be more explicit in indigenous research discourses. My argument is that indigenous narratives cannot be understood without a clear and thorough understanding of their reciprocal settler colonial narratives. And, given the more active role of settler colonial peoples over indigenous peoples, it could even be argued that it is more pertinent to understand the coloniser if we are seeking change for indigenous narratives.

Our understanding of coloniser-indigenous narratives will also be constrained by our positionality within it. This limitation of our individual perspectives is well articulated throughout the history of anthropology and its advancement as a field of study. This concept of relativism posits "that truth will always vary with experience and what we would today call culture" (Erikson & Nielsen, 2001, p. 2). The counter is the universalism argument that suggests there are objective or universal truths to be found about peoples. Rather than getting caught up in the relativism – universalism paradox, I argue for a pragmatic middle-ground. I agree that our individual perspectives are limited by our own positionality, but also agree that there are universal truths. I argue though, that those universal truths are not necessarily discernible to any one person or group. The closest we can come to gaining an objective understanding or knowing the 'truth' about a people is to bring those perspectives together. In doing so, we can gain confidence in the truth of those parts of the perspectives that are shared as well as an appreciation of the limits of either perspective alone. Here, I am referring to challenging concepts like 'pluralism' or 'two-eyed seeing' that have emerged in indigenous research discourses.

Over recent decades, indigenous studies and research, including those specific to particular indigenous peoples, have established themselves as legitimate fields of academic study. In this essay, I work through a chronology of how those research disciplines have come to be, how they continue to evolve and identify the drivers for that evolution. I hope to identify where our current limitations lie and how we might overcome them, taking lessons from our collective pasts.

Understanding indigenous peoples, cultures, behaviours and experiences was a focus of anthropology. The fundamental human endeavour of understanding humanity and society

via contemplations of the 'self' and 'others' gradually formalised into a science - anthropology, which has a strong history of self-reflection and responsive change as an academic discipline (Singh & Guyer, 2016). In recent decades, understanding indigenous narratives has shifted away from anthropology, which had gained the reputation, epitomised in the opening epigraph, of white men looking into Indigenous realities from the outside and misunderstanding and misrepresenting them. The discipline defined and understood indigenous peoples only from the position of the 'other'. Indigenous studies and research has emerged as indigenous researchers have taken control and the power to research, understand and define their communities. It is a discipline that now largely makes its articulations from the position of the indigenous 'self'. At the same time the discipline of settler colonial studies has emerged as a field that has its microscope squarely trained on the settler colonial phenomenon. It makes its articulations from the position of the settler colonial 'self'.

To a certain degree, the emergence of settler-colonial studies recognises the duality of the indigenous-settler colonial phenomenon that I mention above and is perhaps indicative of the self-reflective nature of its anthropological roots. The field and its researchers seem almost defined by self-reflectivity. Whiteness studies and research has also emerged as a discipline around the same time. While its origins are more in the broader black-white race relations, particularly in the United States, in some parts of the world black-white race relations *are* indigenous-settler colonial race relations but are nuanced with different histories of oppression and dispossession. Following my logic above, there seems to be a very concerted and collective effort going into understanding and defining indigenous-settler colonial narratives. My purpose here is not to provide a definitive deconstruction of each of these disciplines, but to broadly explore their form and how they relate to each other. I hope to make clear that while the settler colonial and indigenous narratives are intrinsically linked and define each other, the way that academic research works to understand them is not necessarily reflective of this duality and should work towards being more so.

Anthropology and sociology: understanding humans and society

It is impossible to definitively articulate the origins of anthropology as a scientific discipline (Boas, 1904; Eriksen & Nielsen, 2001; Kuklick, 2008a). "People have always been curious about their neighbours and more remote people" (Eriksen & Nielsen, 2001, p. 2). Interacting

with others and sharing tales of foreign peoples and places is fundamental to human society and remains so in today's global culture. Over time those contemplations of the 'self' and of 'others' formalised in both thinking and writing to become anthropology – the "science of humanity".

> s[S]ome would trace its roots back to the European Enlightenment during the eighteenth century; others would claim that anthropology did not arise as a science until the 1850's yet others would argue that anthropological research in its present-day sense only commenced after the First world War. (Eriksen & Nielsen, 2001, p. 3)

Most will agree though that anthropology is very much a European (or Western) tradition originating in countries such as "France, Great Britain, the USA and until the Second World War, Germany" (Eriksen & Nielsen, 2001, p. 3). It is worth noting here that formalised theorising of the human condition of the self and others has never been the exclusive domain of European cultures. It was, and continues to be, a disposition of all peoples and cultures around the world. As empires rose and fell throughout human history, power structured interactions between peoples of different ethnicities and cultures will have seen many different forms of 'anthropology' rise and fall with them. However, the contemporary scientific discipline of anthropology is very much derived from European history, culture and thought and spread and evolved through the imperial expansion of European powers.

The writings of explorers such as Marco Polo (1254 – 1323) and the development of mercantilist economies in Europe saw European powers finance expeditions across the globe that would shape the course of human history and the discipline of anthropology (Eriksen & Nielsen, 2001).

> These journeys – to Africa, Asia and America – are often described in the West as "the great discoveries', though the 'discovered' peoples themselves may often have had reason to question their greatness (Eriksen & Nielsen, 2001, p. 4)

The 'discovery' of Africa, America and subsequent circumnavigation of the world in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and the travelogues of those 'discoverers' fed the imagination of Europeans with "vivid descriptions of places, whose very existence they have hitherto been unaware of" (Eriksen & Nielsen, 2001, p. 5). More important for our purposes, those travelogues fed Europeans narratives of what are now known as indigenous peoples and their cultures, painting those narratives against a backdrop of European norms and

traditions – most notably Christianity. A famous example are the travelogues of the cartographer Amerigo Vespucci in his descriptions of indigenous peoples of what is now called the Americas. Vespucci's "ethnographic descriptions are virtually useless as clues to native life at the time of Conquest" and are "inverted reflections of Europeans: they are godless, promiscuous, naked, have no authority or laws, they are even cannibals!" (Eriksen & Nielsen, 2001, p. 5). In painting this picture, Vespucci builds the case of moral superiority of European culture and peoples, presumably with the political intent to justify dominion over these 'barbaric' peoples and their territories. For balance, more factual accounts do exist of indigenous peoples from these 'great discoveries', however, they were still marred with the limitation of being pictures painted against a background of European values and norms.

While the great discoveries burgeoned developments on thinking of what 'others' are, it also forced Europeans to reflect on themselves. One example is that of Michel de Montaigne (1533 – 92) a French man who spent time in Brazil. His accounts of the indigenous peoples of Brazil forced "his readers to rethink their categories of barbarism and civilization" suggesting that "the Brazilians are closer to nature, while Europeans are corrupted by civilization" (Liebersohn, 2008, p. 24). His references to the most contentious part of their culture, cannibalism, say that "while opposed to natural law, has to be understood as part of a code of martial valor that is itself noble and by reference to the laws of reason, but not in comparison with ourselves, who surpass them in every kind of barbarity" (Montaigne, 1958; in Liebersohn, 2008, p. 24). His contemporary, Jean de Lery (1534 – 1613) also comments on indigenous Brazilians' culture and behaviour and was "skeptical toward European assumptions of moral superiority" (Liebersohn, 2008, p. 24). Paired with religious wars within Europe, these discoveries of the 'New World' that is not even mentioned in the bible, forced Europe and its intellectuals to become quite critical of the foundations of their own culture, particularly of Christianity and its assumption of moral superiority.

Scientific and philosophical developments in European societies during the age of Enlightenment (17th – 19th centuries) brought about change in how Europeans both saw themselves and others. Rational thought and the concept of the free individual became the zeitgeist and people "started to make demands for a rational, just, predictable and transparent social order" (Eriksen & Nielsen, 2001, p. 9). In the later stages of the Age of Enlightenment a counter-current, and at times concurrent, culture emerged that sought to

re-centre society around the group (over the individual) and emotion (over reason). It was known as the romantic period. These were the societal conditions and philosophical commitments from which the field of anthropology and its streams developed. Some of the key practical developments were: the beginnings of cultural evolution theories that suggested that societies are at different stages of progress from primitive toward enlightened; the early stages of the universal laws of humanity; the collection, classification and systematisation of knowledge by the Encyclopaedists; and the establishment of the first ethnographic museums (Eriksen & Nielsen, 2001). These societal changes and developments influenced and were influenced by the philosophical debates of the 'great' philosophers of the time. To make the obvious explicit, indigenous societies around the world would have seen vast advances in their own knowledge of the world and themselves with the arrival of the European 'others' to their lands and societies. Notably, these indigenous advances in thought largely remained outside of European society and their thinking, which made the foundations of anthropology. This undermines the notion of anthropology being the science of 'humanity' and it would perhaps be more accurately called the European science of humanity.

For many years anthropological thought and research was dominated by the concept of cultural evolution. Cultural evolutionism is the idea that cultures and societies represent and can progress through distinct stages generally thought of as "a three-step model … : a 'magical' stage is replaced by a 'religious' stage, which gives way to a 'scientific' stage" (Eriksen & Nielsen, 2001, p. 25) and this concept can be traced throughout the history and foundations of anthropology. This hierarchical conceptualisation confined the European's understanding of indigenous cultures and societies as less progressed and/or inferior to their own. More and more, these ideas of cultural evolution proved at odds with the empirical data collected by anthropologists and eventually gave way to conceptual ideals of diffusionism. Diffusionism separated itself (only partially) from the ideals of evolutionism by letting go of the idea of society as a whole and instead focussed on cultural traits and how they are preserved among cultures and societies or over time. In this "diffusionists studies the geographical distribution and migration of cultural traits were patchworks of traits with various origins and histories" (Eriksen & Nielsen, 2001, p. 28). It should be noted that diffusionists did not entirely shirk their evolutionist roots entirely and still saw a progressive sophistication, but of cultural traits and not of societies as a whole.

The development of social theory and classical sociology by thinkers such as Marx, Durkheim and Weber provided alternatives to evolutionism and diffusionism for anthropologists. Sociologists held onto the concept of societies as functional wholes but were less concerned with outward exploration and comparisons with 'others' (as anthropologists were) and more concerned with the internal mechanisms (Eriksen & Nielsen, 2001). These detailed dissections and deconstructions of societies allowed for far greater complexity and nuanced discourses to develop in anthropology and these theorists and their thinking are well represented in contemporary sociology and anthropology literature.

Although the foundations of anthropology and sociology were laid down across European societies and cultures, the British and North American traditions of anthropology proliferated and have dominated in more recent times (Darnell, 2008; Kuklick, 2008b). The nuances of the two traditions and their historical and philosophical divergences are difficult to definitively articulate (Ishida, 1965), but there are some clear distinctions (Layton & Kaul, 2006). The British tradition is theoretically oriented toward social theory and "traces its lineage to the sociological founding fathers – Durkheim, Weber and Mauss – thereby placing primary emphasis on social structure in anthropological analyses" (Layton & Kaul, 2006, p. 14). The North American tradition is much more pragmatically divided amongst the disciplines of biological anthropology, linguistic anthropology, cultural anthropology and archaeology with its greatest influencers being American anthropologists, particularly Franz Boas, and has culture as the central concept of its anthropological analyses (Layton & Kaul, 2006). They are each commonly referred to as British social anthropology and American cultural anthropology. The causes for these distinct trajectories are numerous and include the presence of an indigenous 'other' in America making cultural differences a prominent preoccupation as well as varied trajectories of institutionalisation and professionalisation between the nations. While other European traditions also developed in places such as Germany and France, they did not become prominent in the global practice of anthropology (Eriksen & Nielsen, 2013; Sibeud, 2008; Penny, 2008), perhaps due to British and American dominance as global powers.

Here I provide a broad and selective overview of the history and development of anthropology as a scientific discipline that accentuates several points that will become key to my arguments later. Those points are that: anthropology attempts to understand humanity

by contemplations of the 'self' and 'others'; anthropology is based on European societies and their thinking and therefore centres a European 'self' against a non-European or indigenous 'other' (see Ntarangwi, 2010; Nakata, 2007); and, different European societies have developed their own traditions that approach anthropological study in different ways. Throughout, I have explicitly eluded to the fact that non-European (indigenous) cultures and societies will have had their own forms of 'anthropology' that contemplated the human condition and society. Those indigenous forms of anthropology will have gone through their own trajectories of development and evolution that certainly would have dramatically shifted when forced to consider their indigenous 'selves' against the European 'others' and would continue to evolve today. These indigenous anthropologies are not represented in what is known as the science anthropology. That means that until recently the science and the theories and methodologies that have been used to understand and define indigenous narratives have largely been Eurocentric critiques of an indigenous 'other'.

Indigenous studies and research

The 1960s and 70s' civil rights movements around the world have seen indigenous peoples drive significant change in their narratives, including in how those narratives are defined and understood (Erueti, 2020; Smith, 2012; 1999). Over the past thirty to forty years, indigenous peoples have become the researchers taking back the 'power to define' in indigenous research and scholarship (Smith, 2012). This new form of indigenous studies allows indigenous scholars to bring their own cultural philosophies and methods of research to prominence and to revitalise and develop them.

> The political and discursive concern of critical Indigenous studies is to mobilize Indigenous epistemologies to serve as foundations of knowledge informed by the cultural domains of Indigenous peoples" (Moreton-Robinson, 2011, p. 4).

There is strength in its philosophical, epistemological and methodological diversity that is inherent to its "multicultural, multinational and multidisciplinary" foundations (Moreton-Robinson, 2011, p.4). The strength lies in applying these diverse theoretical and methodological approaches to a nuanced but universal problem: "colonising power in its multiple forms, whether the gaze is on Indigenous issues or Western knowledge production" (Moreton-Robinson, 2011, p.4).

Linda Tuhiwai Smith's book, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous peoples* (2012; 1999) has been seminal in facilitating this shift in indigenous studies. The book details the history of research on indigenous peoples and advocates for more culturally appropriate research methodologies and for indigenous researchers to be the ones implementing them. She notes that 'research' is "implicated in the worst excesses of colonialism" and suggests that "the word itself is probably one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous world's vocabulary…" (Smith, 1999, p. 1). While indigenous researchers were already working in this space, the legitimisation of their own theories and methodologies through the publication of this book and others, bolstered their validity in the realms of academic scholarship and allowed indigenous studies to flourish. We can gain an appreciation of the utility of the book, as well as the state of play of global indigenous research at the time, from the endorsements on the inside cover from Indigenous scholars from all parts of the globe:

> "Tuhiwai-Smith urges researching back and disrupting the rules of the research game toward practices that are more respectful, ethical, sympathetic and useful vs racist practices and attitudes, ethnocentric assumptions and exploitative research." *Patti Lather, Professor of Educational Policy and Leadership, Ohio State University.*
>
> "Finally, a book for researchers working in indigenous context. Finally a book especially for indigenous researchers." *Jo-Ann Archibald, Sto:lo Nation and director of the First Nations House of Learning, University of British Columbia.*
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> "It will empower indigenous students to undertake research which uses methods that are culturally sensitive and appropriate instead of those which they have learned about in Research Methods courses in universities which assume that research and research methods are culture- free and that researchers occupy some kind of moral high ground from which they can observe their subjects and make judgements about them." *Konai Thaman, Professor of Pacific Education and Culture, and UNESCO Chair of Education, University of the South Pacific.*
>
> "This book opts for a dynamic interpretation of power relations of domination, struggle and emancipation. She uses a dual framework – the whakapapa of Māori knowledge and European epistemology – to interpret and capture the world of reality for a moment in time." *Ranginui Walker, Formerly Professor of Maori Studies Department and Pro-vice Chancellor, University of Auckland.*
>
> "We have needed this book. Academic research facilitates diverse forms of economic and cultural imperialism by shaping and legitimating policies which entrench existing unjust power relations.... This careful articulation of a range of research methodologies is vital, welcome and full of promise." *Laurie Anne Whitt, Professor of Philosophy, Michigan Technological University.*

> "In recent years, indigenous people, often led by the emerging culturally affirmed and positioned indigenous scholars, have intensified the struggle to break free from the chains of colonialism and its oppressive legacy. In writing this book, Linda Tuhiwai Smith makes a powerful and impassioned contribution to this struggle." *Bob Morgan, Director, Jumbunna Caiser, Centre for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders, University of Technology, Sydney.*
>
> (Smith, 1999, front cover)

From these quotes and innumerable citations of the book since, it's clear that indigenous research had been dominated by non-indigenous researchers unaware of the cultural biases inherent to their own world view and research questions and methodologies. These attempts to define and understand indigenous peoples through Eurocentric cultural lenses has repeatedly resulted in cultured policy that paints indigenous peoples as deficient and as 'the problem'. Rather than leading to any kind of emancipation, this form of research further entrenched the subjugation of indigenous peoples and their cultures. Smith's book validated indigenous theories and methodologies within the western academy and empowered indigenous researchers to take control in setting and implementing their own research agendas.

In implementing those research agendas, indigenous scholars are revitalising and developing indigenous epistemologies, theories and methodologies of research that are distinct from those of the anthropological past. Western knowledge, thinking and research is rooted and remains dominated by positivist traditions that predicate that objective truth exists and that researchers are able to view that truth from an objective position, and then report on it objectively (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; 2008; Smith, 2012; 1999; Reason, 1998). This positivist thinking and approach to research has subjugated indigenous forms of knowledge and methods of inquiry and have shaped the way that indigenous peoples have been defined, classified, and understood across the world (Smith, 2012; 1999). Indigenous scholars provide indigenous research methodologies that are more culturally appropriate, respectful and responsible to those being researched (Battiste, 2008; Brown & Strega, 2005; Simpson, 2001). They centre the subjectivity and relationality of the researcher to the research questions, subjects and methodology (Pihama, 2010; Wilson, 2008; Weber-Pillwax, 2004; and, see Carlson, 2017 for a brief synthesis). These approaches empower indigenous peoples to recognise their agency to live and define their own narratives and have an explicit objective to improve the lives of indigenous peoples (Smith, 2012; 1999). These indigenous

anthropologies are also driving change and advancement in how some settler colonial scholars approach their own social research (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008).

In its various forms, indigenous studies has become an academic discipline through gaining institutional recognition, developing an international community, establishing professional associations, and establishing specialised journals and publishers (Moreton-Robinson, 2011). Many universities, particularly in settler colonial nations, have branches that research and teach indigenous studies in its various local forms. Specialised national and international journals exclusively publish indigenous studies literature including: *AlterNative* (New Zealand), the *Aboriginal Policy Journal* (Canada), *Ōiwi: A Native Hawaiian Journal* (Hawai'i), the *International Journal of Critical Indigenous Studies* (Australia), and the *Native American and Indigenous Studies Journal* (USA). Specialised publishing houses, and some associated with universities, frequently publish books that focus on indigenous studies. Indigenous scholars can join organisations like the Native American and Indigenous Studies Association (USA) and Nga Pae o te Maramatanga (New Zealand) to foster transnational networks and attend international research conferences hosted by those organisations. While these structures act to legitimise indigenous research and scholarship, they also act as a safe space for indigenous scholars to engage with, implement, revive, and develop indigenous approaches to research that are often incompatible with broader academia.

Academia appears pessimistic about the value and validity of indigenous research. Some indigenous researchers feel like "the brown bit on other people's [non-indigenous] research projects" (unknown, 12 November 2018, personal comment). My indigenous colleagues frequently remark that they feel like token parts of research teams who are only trying to 'tick the indigenous box', and that their qualifications are not considered on par with non-indigenous academics. Paired with the endorsements of Smith's (2012; 1999) book above, it is clear that even in academia, indigenous peoples must resist settler colonial power structures. Indeed, many indigenous scholars necessarily identify as activists or activators.

Two points will be clear from this broad overview of indigenous research. First, indigenous researchers and their theories and methodologies have taken control to define and understand indigenous peoples and narratives. Second is that the broader academic structures are hostile to indigenous academics and their approaches, and explicit structures have been built to provide safe spaces for them. One point that may be less explicit is that

the indigenous research is strategic in that it intentionally seeks to progress indigenous narratives and not simply to describe them. This notion is inherent to indigenous research approaches that centre subjectivity and relationality and therefore have a focus on responsible research ethics (Battiste, 2008; Brown & Strega, 2005; Simpson, 2001). A final point that may not be explicit is that indigenous research and scholars mostly focus on researching indigenous peoples and their narratives. A few turn their gaze toward the settler colonial, but that work is sporadic and not concerted or directed. Finally, we must recognise that many indigenous approaches to research remain ostracised from academia but remain alive and well within their own communities and research structures.

Settler-colonial studies

At the same time that indigenous scholars developed and implemented an indigenous research agenda, settler colonial scholars have turned their gaze inward to understand and define settler colonialism (Carey & Silverstein, 2020; Edmonds & Carey, 2013; Veracini, 2011; Wolf, 2006; 1999). Colonial studies first emerged from anthropological and sociological roots and considered all colonial societies and their conditions as only slight variations on a theme. Postcolonial studies then emerged differentiating itself by conceptualising coloniality to cease when colonial powers either leave or establish themselves as independent nations in their own right (Carey & Silverstein, 2020; Edmonds & Carey, 2013). Its scholars suggest that colonialism stops once it is no longer a colony. After debating these and other nuances of the process of colonisation, settler colonial studies emerged as an academic discipline, which focussed on settler colonial societies where the colonisers did not leave but established a nation state independent of the colonial progenitor. These scholars have debated the nuances extensively but generally see settler colonialism as an ongoing oppressive structure that dominates and subjugates indigenous peoples long after the establishment as an independent settler colonial state (Veracini, 2017; 2014).

Scholars of settler colonial studies assert that settler colonialism is defined by its intent to eliminate the indigenous peoples of the national territory (Veracini, 2019a; 2019b; 2015). As a scholarly discipline, it emerged and solidified out of the deliberations of settler colonial scholars reflecting on the role of settler colonialism in Australia in defining the lives and existence of Aboriginal Australians (see Carey and Silverstein, 2020). A seminal work that catalysed the emergence of settler colonial studies out of colonial and postcolonial studies

was Patrick Wolfe's (1999) book, *Settler colonialism and the transformation of anthropology*. In it, he uses a chronology of anthropology in Australia to argue that settler colonialism 'is a structure and not an event' that continues to oppress Aboriginal Australians and indigenous peoples of other settler colonial states (Bird Rose, 2001). This structuralist critique squarely centres the oppressive structures of settler colonialism as the discipline's focus of discourse. A more recent book by Wolfe's fellow settler colonial Australian, Lorenzo Veracini (2015), *The Settler Colonial Present* gives a thorough description of how the discipline has developed since Wolfe's key assertions.

> … [S]ettler colonial studies developed as a comparative and transdisciplinary field that insisted on the unreformed immanence of fundamentally unequal relations between indigenous peoples and their nonindigenous counter-parts: the settlers. (Veracini, 2015, p.1)

The discipline remains preoccupied with debating and defining the structural form of settler colonialism (Morgensen, 2011), and has been criticised for failing to theorise the dismantling of those structures. Veracini (2019a) has recognised the truth of those criticisms but argues that settler colonialism and its settler colonial scholars must allow indigenous scholars to lead that theorisation. Otherwise they risk replicating settler colonial power structures in the process and are likely to develop inappropriate or ineffective solutions. Clearly the discourse is highly topical and well-developed and has formalised as an academic discipline with a specialised international journal, alongside those that exist for colonial and postcolonial studies.

There are a few points that I want to draw out of this brief overview to contrast against indigenous studies. The first is that the discipline of settler colonial studies is dominated by settler colonial scholars (but see Carey & Silverstein, 2020). To my knowledge, this is not made explicit anywhere, but it is implied in the way that scholars, particularly Veracini, write about it. So, generally speaking, settler colonial studies is done by settler colonial scholars and indigenous studies is done by indigenous scholars. The second is that while settler colonial scholars frequently consider their positionality within the discourse, there appears to be little consideration of the ethical concerns and responsibility to the communities that are the subject of their research. This is in stark contrast to research approaches in indigenous studies. Finally, leading scholars of settler colonial studies admit that their focus is to understand and define settler colonial power structures and not necessarily to theorise their

deconstruction. Again, this is at odds with indigenous research approaches that have an explicit strategic intent to empower indigenous peoples and their communities to self-determination. These distinctions may reflect settler colonial studies' closer association with its anthropological and sociological past and Eurocentric modes of social research. There is clear potential here for indigenous scholars to improve the research approaches of settler colonial studies.

Whiteness studies

Whiteness studies is another academic discipline that places settler colonial peoples under the microscope, albeit only for the fact that they are most often 'white'. Whiteness studies emerged as a discipline in the 1990s out of the United States with its roots in the writings of earlier intellectuals and activists, particularly those of William Edward Burghardt Du Bois in the early twentieth century (Kolchin, 2009; 2002). These writings underpinned the flurry of scholarship in the 90s stimulated by tensions in black-white race relations in the United States. Researching whiteness became incredibly popular and that popularity was only fuelled by the backlash that it incited from the conservative right and white supremacy groups. The discipline has maintained that popularity and continued to develop alongside but differentiating from its related disciplines. The anthropological and sociological foundations of whiteness studies lie more specifically in critical race studies, which

> seeks to de-cloak the seemingly race-neutral and color-blind ways in which the law and policy are conceptualized, discussed, and formulated, with respect to their impact on poor people and persons of color. (Parker et al., 1998, p. 5)

To achieve that goal, scholars of critical race studies often use "counter-narratives … by persons of color that challenge the dominant legal, political, ideological, and epistemological thinking about race and power" (Parker et al., 1998, p.5).

Whiteness studies distinguished itself from critical race studies by turning the gaze away from persons of colour and onto the 'white' side of the duality. Wikipedia gives a very clear and concise description of the preoccupations of scholars of whiteness studies as:

> … the structures that produce white privilege, the examination of what whiteness is when analyzed as a race, a culture, and a source of systemic racism, and the exploration of other social phenomena generated by the societal compositions, perceptions and group behaviours of white people. (Wikipedia)

A broad reading of the literature confirms this assertion (Niemonen, 2010; Nayak, 2007; Pruet, 2002; Roediger, 2002) and suggests that whiteness studies has gone through three waves (Twine & Gallagher, 2008). The first wave was the "slow, empirical academic work" that "challenge[d] existing historical and contemporary accounts of racial identity construction" (Twine & Gallagher, 2008, p. 5) and set the "frame for African-American activists and scholars seeking to identify, describe and deconstruct the structures of white supremacy in the U.S.A" (Garner, 2017, p. 1583). The second wave aimed at "challenging and making white supremacy and institutional racism visible" (Twine & Gallagher, 2008, p. 10), which was a concerted effort of scholars from diverse disciplines at the height of its popularity in the 1990s (Garner, 2017). And the third wave focussed on analysing "the nuanced and locally specific ways in which whiteness as a form of power is defined, deployed, performed, policed and reinvented" in our white privileging societies (Twine and Gallagher, 2008, p5).

Although, "virtually all the whiteness studies authors seek to confront white privilege" and "M[m]ost of them see a close link between their scholarly efforts and the goal of creating a more humane social order" (Kolchin, 2009, p. 118; also, see McWhorter, 2005), few authors are focussed on theorising the dismantling of the power structures that are inherent to whiteness or white supremacy. One notable exception is George Yancy (2012) in his book, *Look, a white!*, that discusses how his white students attempt to transcend their whiteness (Headley, 2013; Teel, 2013). Here and in other places, authors deal with what white people can do to minimise the impact of whiteness on society (Delgado & Stefancic, 1997). However, breaking down the structures of white privilege appears to evade any structured or concerted research effort.

While whiteness studies and settler colonial studies clearly intersect with respect to their preoccupation with defining and understanding power structures, there are some important distinctions that I would highlight. Both have epistemological roots in anthropology and sociology, but each emerged as academic disciplines amidst very different social contexts: whiteness studies out of the United States; and, settler colonial studies out of Australia. While both nations are settler colonial states with associated histories of elimination and dispossession of indigenous peoples, the United States was also built on the backs of African slaves. Racial discourses in the United States are dominated by black-white race relations. Racial discourses in Australia are dominated by indigenous-settler race relations, which are

effectively black-white race. While the power structures that define these relationships may be similar, there are very obvious nuances to their histories of dispossession and oppression. Otherwise, the disciplines are quite similar. Both focus on defining and understanding power structures that oppress indigenous peoples and persons of colour, respectively, and both fail to mount a directed and concerted research effort on how to dismantle those power structures. Again, it is also worth pointing out that while not a rule, scholarly contemplations on whiteness are mostly from white scholars providing perspectives from a position of the white 'self'.

Indigenous-settler relations

Indigenous-settler colonial relations is an emerging discipline from Australia. It has the clear purview of "understanding and transforming Indigenous-settler relations in Australia and the world" (Maddison & Nakata, 2020, p. 1). The new book, *Questioning Indigenous-Settler Relations: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, edited by Sarah Maddison and Sana Nakata, is the first in a series that "aims to bring together scholars interested in examining contemporary Indigenous Affairs through questions of relationality" to bring some definition to the emerging field (Maddison & Nakata, 2020, p. 1). The series will "focus sharply upon questions about what informs, shapes and gives social, legal and political life to *relations between* Indigenous peoples and non-Indigenous peoples" by capturing how questions of this "relationality are already being asked by scholars across disciplines including political science, history, sociology, law, media, and cultural studies" (Maddison & Nakata, 2020, p. 3). In the first book,

> both Indigenous and non-Indigenous authors explore Indigenous-settler relations in terms of what the relational characteristics are, who steps into these relations and how, the different temporal and historical moments in which these relations take place and to what effect, where these relations exist around the world and the variations the relations take on in different places, and why these relations are important for the examination of social and political life in the twenty-first century.

The two editors of the series are an indigenous (Torres-Strait Islander) scholar and a settler colonial scholar, who also co-direct the *Indigenous-Settler Relations Collaboration Research Unit* at the University of Melbourne. The other contributors are from various universities across Australia and are a mixture of indigenous and settler colonial scholars.

The discipline focusses on relationality because those "relations between Indigenous and settler peoples are deeply problematic, resting on the dispossession of Indigenous peoples from their lands and the ongoing settler occupation of their territories" (Maddison & Nakata, 2020, p. 8). Recognising that relations between indigenous peoples and settler colonial peoples are inevitable and that their futures are inextricably linked, there is a clear need to centre those problematic relations in a research agenda to work towards conceiving "new futures shaped through more just and ethical relations" (Maddison & Nakata, 2020, p. 9). The editors suggest that this shift in focus, and in the naming of the discipline, is a:

> … deliberate move away from both settler-colonial studies, which examines historical and present impacts of settler states upon Indigenous peoples, and from postcolonial and decolonial scholarship, which is predominantly interested in how Indigenous peoples speak back to the settler state. (Maddison & Nakata, 2020, p. 1).

The discipline and the first book explore the good and the bad within "existing, emerging and potential indigenous-settler relations" narratives. The hope is "that indigenous-settler relations may be transformed, becoming more respectful, morally grounded, accountable and, ultimately, decolonial" (Whyte, 2018; in Maddison & Nakata, 2020, p. 9).

Maddison & Nakata's (2020) book gives a clear sense of how indigenous-settler relations aims to fill the gaps in the research agendas of indigenous and settler colonial studies. The objectives of each of the disciplines considered here are related if not interchangeable. Respectively, the disciplines each seek to: transform indigenous settler relations to become more equitable; dismantle power structures that privilege whiteness over blackness; dismantle oppressive settler colonial power structures; and moving indigenous peoples and their communities toward self-determination. They each, however, have their own research focus and methodologies to achieve those objectives. A key distinction is that indigenous studies and its scholars appear more directed and strategic in working towards their objective and centring the agency of the people they research to enact those outcomes. Perhaps the collaborative approach of indigenous-settler relations will allow the approach and outcomes of the strategic indigenous research agenda to transfer to the approach of settler colonial scholars, to empower settler colonial peoples and government to not enact the power structures that oppress indigenous peoples.

Conclusion

Here, I provide a chronological account of how indigenous peoples, their narratives and their experiences have been understood and defined throughout history. During these developments, both indigenous and non-indigenous scholars have recognised biases and deficiencies in their focus and approach and adapted. This responsive and reflexive nature has seen the evolution and emergence of new academic disciplines over time that seek to fill the gaps of their progenitor disciplines. Not only has that evolution provided a far deeper understanding of indigenous peoples and their experience, its chronology provides clear lessons on how to understand and define those experiences. The first clear lesson is that the settler colonial narrative is intrinsically linked to and defines the indigenous narrative. To understand and drive change in the indigenous experience you must understand the settler colonial narrative. The second clear lesson is that the positionality of the researcher matters. To develop a full and proper understanding of the indigenous experience (and its causes) requires a diversity of perspectives and researchers. And the third clear lesson is that research is not neutral and can empower or oppress those who are its focus. This highlights the ethical responsibilities of researchers in their practice, and their agency and responsibility to empower those they are researching. The new field of indigenous-settler relations appears well positioned to address these first two lessons by purposefully bringing the relationality of indigenous and settler colonial narratives into the research frame and bringing both indigenous and settler colonial scholars together to deliberate it. What remains to be seen is how the discipline realises its agency to empower the indigenous and settler colonial peoples that they research to drive change in both narratives. This research report aims to guide and support that work.

ESSAY 2

Indigenous narratives: toward self-determination

> *"We have exhausted every other recourse for gaining* ***protection of our sovereignty*** *by peaceful means before making this* ***appeal to secure protection*** *through the League of Nations. If this effort on our part shall fail we shall be compelled to* ***resist by defensive action*** *upon our part this* ***British invasion of our Home-land*** *for we are determined to* ***live the free people*** *that we were born."* (Deskaheh, Cayuga Chief of the Iroquois, 1923, p.3)

Introduction

If the specific quote in the epigraph is not familiar, the general sentiment of the narrative will be. It is the same that inspired the generic indigenous narrative I referred to in the previous essay. Here though, it is an explicit articulation of the Iroquois experience in Canada by Deskaheh, Cayuga Chief of the Iroquois and Speaker of the Six Nations Council, in a submission to the League of Nations in 1923. Deskaheh is one of the first indigenous leaders to take the plight of their people to the International arena to ask 'higher' powers (here, the League of Nations) to intervene on their grievances with their colonial administration (Corntassel, 2008). After failing to find legal recourse within Canadian powers against Canadian treaty violations and encroachment onto Iroquois homelands, Deskaheh took his protest to England seeking support from their colonial progenitor. British authorities refused to consider the request for assistance suggesting it was a state problem for Canada to solve. Deskaheh then took his plight to the League of Nations in Geneva, submitting their petition through the government of the Netherlands. Canada successfully protested the petition, asserting that the matter was a domestic concern, and the petition was not brought before the League of Nations Assembly. Although this would seem a failure and brought about serious consequences for him and his people, the petition set a foundation for others to follow and gave a clear and explicit account of an indigenous narrative at the time (Corntassel, 2008). It articulates the familiar narrative of 'resisting' invasion and 'protecting' indigenous sovereignty. Perhaps more importantly, the petition also sets a clear objective for what Iroquois wanted their narrative to be, "to live the free people we were born". Through the

international indigenous rights movement, that objective has since been refined and is now commonly expressed as seeking 'self-determination'.

A brief history of the development of the United Nations Declarations on the Rights for Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) can give us a good impression of how contentious indigenous self-determination is. Although debated, the adoption of the UNDRIP by the United Nations General Assembly in September 2007 is a pinnacle of the international indigenous rights movement. The UNDRIP sets a standard for indigenous rights that all United Nations states have committed to recognise and protect, and also sets an international norm to which all indigenous peoples can aspire. Importantly, it explicitly asserts their right to self-determination. Article 3 goes on to assert that "By virtue of that right they [Indigenous peoples] freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development" (United Nations, 2008). Article 4 prescribes that in exercising their self-determination, indigenous peoples "have the right to autonomy or self-government in matters relating to their internal and local affairs" (United Nations, 2008). Some consider these final words to be a far cry from the original intent, which became progressively washed out as member nations contended with the realities of indigenous self-determination throughout its drafting (Pulitano, 2012; Churchill, 2011).

Nation states feared that their recognition of indigenous self-determination may lead to sovereignty claims, secession and territorial dismemberment of states, threatening their security and their economic and political stability (Morgan, 2004). To keep the term self-determination, indigenous representatives leveraged the legal protection of 'all peoples' rights to self-determination under the UN International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. They then challenged the preconception by explicitly defining the indigenous understanding of self-determination as 'the right to negotiate freely [indigenous] peoples' political status and representation in the states in which they live', allaying fears of territorial secession (Xanthaki, 2014; Morgan, 2004). Despite the overwhelming support on ratification in 2007, Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the US only endorsed the UNDRIP more recently (Erueti, 2020). While these negotiations and politicking may have drifted away from what some meant by self-determination, the words and the process of their drafting give us some impression of what indigenous self-determination looks like and what indigenous peoples should strive for within their nation states.

One of the most cited books in indigenous studies research goes further to articulate a trajectory for indigenous narratives to progress to self-determination (Smith, 2012; 1999). Figure 1 is a re-creation of that conceptual model of an indigenous research agenda proposed in Linda Tuhiwai Smith's (2012; 1999) book, *Decolonising Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. The model sets a clear trajectory for indigenous narratives to move through and across phases of survival, resurgence, and development with a strategic aim of self-determination.

> They are conditions and states of being through which indigenous communities are moving. It is not sequential development – the survival of peoples as physical beings, of languages, of social and spiritual practices, of social relations and of the arts are all subject to some basic prioritizing. Similarly, the recovery of territories, of indigenous rights, and histories are also subject to prioritizing and to recognition that indigenous cultures have changed inexorably. Recovery is a selective process, often responding to immediate crises rather than a planned approach. (Smith, 2012, p. 121)

The concentric circles symbolise ocean tides that "sets time and conveys movement" across the "states of being". The conceptual model includes decolonisation, healing, transformation, and mobilisation as processes (not end points) that manifest movement between states of being and are "dynamic and open to different influences and possibilities", and "critical elements of a strategic research agenda" (Smith, 2012, p. 120).

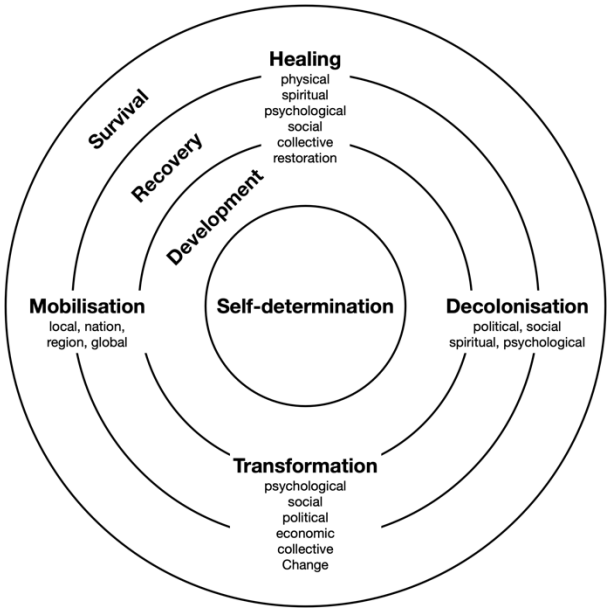

Figure 2: A re-creation of the strategic indigenous research agenda developed by Smith (2012, p. 121; 1999, p. 117). It maps out the 'states of being' that indigenous peoples can move through with a goal of self-determination. The strategic research agenda sets a clear aim for indigenous research and scholarship to support indigenous peoples and their communities to become self-determining. Here, I use this research agenda as a frame for analysis to assess whether indigenous narratives have moved toward self-determination and whether indigenous research has supported that movement.

Importantly, Smith (2012; 1999) refers to her conceptual model as a 'strategic research agenda'. This suggests that she intends for the research that is done according to this research agenda to not only articulate the 'state of being' of indigenous peoples, but to realise its agency and responsibility to support indigenous peoples and communities to achieve self-determination.

In this essay, I explore how 'indigenous states of being' or, as I describe them, 'indigenous narratives' have moved from those like that articulated by Deskaheh in 1923, and toward self-determination today. I briefly explore the processes that are driving that movement and whether indigenous research is helping to push it along. My personal perspective is that despite sustained resistance from the time of invasion, and directed research efforts by indigenous scholars for the past thirty to forty years, that Indigenous narratives remain dominated by tales of survival and resistance. Few studies report indigenous self-determination being achieved. This assertion is based on my experience working in Aboriginal water policy in Australia, studying a Masters of Indigenous Studies in Aotearoa New Zealand, attending three international indigenous research conferences in the last two years, and as a postdoctoral researcher trying to understand how indigenous world views and knowledges can best be brought to science, policy and governance. My sense is that most would agree, as does key indigenous literature like *Ka Whahai Tonu Matou – Struggle Without End* by Ranginui Walker (2004; 1990), in which he states in the foreword of the second edition that as of 2004 (fourteen years after the first edition), "the struggle without end continues" (Walker, 2004, p. 8). Much of the literature from related disciplines like settler colonial studies supports my assertion and you need only read through the titles in the reference list of this report to get the sense that indigenous self-determination largely remains an aspiration, and that indigenous survival and resistance is a current and ongoing reality for most. Using Smith's (1999; 2012) strategic research agenda as an analytical framework, I aim to: 1) establish whether indigenous narratives are indeed stuck in modes of survival and resistance; 2) why they might be stuck; and, 3) how indigenous scholars have supported any progress of indigenous narratives and how their research effort could be applied more strategically.

Indigenous survival and resistance

Some suggest that survival and resistance are fundamental to being indigenous and that those modes of survival and resistance are as ubiquitous and diverse as settler colonial modes

domination and subjugation (Picq, 2017; Hokowhitu, 2011a; Alfred & Corntassel, 2005). The most fundamental and ongoing act of resistance is simply the physical survival and continued presence of indigenous people as individuals, communities and cultures within settler colonial nations (Veracini, 2019; 2015). That survival is in spite of deliberate and sustained attempts by settlers colonial powers to eliminate indigenous peoples by various means, and under various moral and legal mandates, but all with the pragmatic outcome of asserting sovereignty to the national territory and monopolising power and authority over its people, lands and waters, and natural resources (Veracini, 2019; Wolfe, 2006) .

The most fundamental mode of eliminating indigenous peoples is genocide (Wolf, 2006). Frontier or land wars are ubiquitous in indigenous histories and remain so in some parts of the world. Indigenous peoples resisted by engaging in warfare, by peaceful and violent protests and by retreating (sometimes by force) to marginal lands and spaces in settler colonial society. Those who survived and their decedents exist in stark contradiction to national claims of sovereignty – an ongoing and fundamental act of resistance in itself and a reminder of morally corrupt settler colonial foundations of those societies (Veracini, 2019; Wolf, 2006). Those who have survived have faced a second mode of indigenous elimination by being dispossessed from their lands and waters that are core to their cultures, identities and ways of being (Veracini, 2015). While resistance to dispossession like that expressed in the opening epigraph has been sustained since invasion, it escalated in the 1960s and 70s amongst the global civil rights movements (Erueti, 2020). At the centre of those indigenous rights movements were land rights claims that sought to redress the historical and ongoing dispossession of indigenous peoples from their lands and territories (for example, see Burrows, 2016). Again, those modes of resistance took many forms from both violent and peaceful protests to legal action that saw the establishment of ongoing claims processes (for example, Native Title Tribunal in Australia and the Waitangi Tribunal in New Zealand). That resistance is ongoing and structural as indigenous peoples continue to seek to restore access and control, and ultimately connection, to their lands and waters and ways of being.

Settler colonial regimes have also sought to eliminate indigenous peoples by targeting their language and culture. Again, indigenous histories are replete with assimilationist policies that restricted indigenous peoples from speaking their languages or engaging in their cultural practices (for example, see Reyhner, 2010; Dow, 2001). This was often done under the guise

of ‘taming the savages’ extolling Eurocentric ideals of civility, white supremacy and Christianity. In some instances, like in Australia, those assimilationist policies were more like eugenics experiments that sought to ‘breed out the black’ by stealing mixed race and fair-skinned children from their families and placing them into boarding homes/schools to become part of white society (Moses, 2004). While these policies and actions have caused much loss of language, culture and even identity amongst indigenous peoples, indigenous languages and cultural practices persist and are being revitalised and enlivened around the world (McCarty, Nicholas & Wigglesworth, 2019; Thorpe & Galassi, 2014; Reyhner, 2010; Walsh, 2001). At the same time those people ostracised from their culture and genealogy through various means are finding ways to reconnect with their indigenous identity, culture and language (for example, see St-Denis & Walsh, 2016).

Settler colonial societies globally have also engaged in more subtle modes of elimination that are more aptly referred to as erasure. By simply not recognising indigenous peoples as present in their territories or as citizens within their societies, some settler colonial nations ostracised them from social and political life and from having any civil rights (for example, see Appleby & McKinnon, 2017). This placed indigenous peoples outside the protection of the legal and moral structures that protect us in society. Even more subtle, have been the restrictive identity politics and policies that seek to define them out of existence (Maaka & Fleras, 2005). Those are the policies that use blood quantum and other restrictive markers of indigenous identity to limit who is officially and legally recognised as indigenous (Schmidt, 2011; Spruhan, 2006). In some places, a restrictive 50% blood quantum rule means that few people are legally recognised as indigenous, effectively erasing them from their communities, or at least from accessing their indigenous rights (Kauanui, 2008). Indigenous peoples have resisted these forms of erasure by seeking recognition not only as citizens but as sovereign first nations of those territories and removing settler colonial control of indigenous identity politics, defining their own forms of social, political, and legal markers of indigeneity.

Modes of resistance permeate every aspect of indigenous life. One fundamental example is in resistance to neoliberalism and contemporary requirements to participate in global economic structures that threaten to replace indigenous ways of living and conceptions of a good life (for example, see Bargh, 2007). Many indigenous peoples continually refuse to participate in hegemonic economic structures that enact a parasitic relationship with the

natural environment or are adapting indigenous economic models that are grounded in their own worldviews and embody more reciprocal and sustainable relationship with mother earth (for example, see Bargh, 2007). In places where settler colonial societies are starting to recognise the value of indigenous worldviews and knowledges and potential to solve contemporary national and international issues, indigenous peoples must resist by protecting their cultural and intellectual property and data sovereignty (for example, see Brewer & Warner, 2015). Even in political spaces that are designed to bridge cultural and racial divides between indigenous and settler colonial peoples there is resistance. Many see models of 'reconciliation' as a process that reinforce settler colonial power structures rather than leading to any kind of indigenous emancipation (Veracini, 2015). Instead, many indigenous scholars call for settler colonial truth telling as the only mechanism that can lead to any kind of reconciliation with some even adapting their own dispute resolution processes for coming together after conflict, and are asking settler colonial peoples to engage in those (Appleby & McKinnon, 2017).

I have highlighted extensively in essay one and here that indigenous scholars and research are fundamental to indigenous resistance. Research on indigenous peoples was previously dominated by non-indigenous scholars defining indigenous peoples from an outsider's perspective. That research inherently defined indigenous peoples as societal problems and attempted to develop solutions that only further eliminated their cultures, identities, and ways of being. Indigenous scholars have and continue to resist by taking back the power to define their own communities and do it through revitalising indigenous research approaches. Indigenous research is fundamental to each of the modes of resistance described above and is currently focussing on theorising new modes of resistance to adapt to the ever-changing modes of settler colonial dominance and subjugation (Hokowhitu, 2011b; Alfred & Corntassel, 2005).

Indigenous recovery: resurgence and revitalisation

Despite the historical and ongoing losses of life, lands and waters, culture, language and identity at the hands of settler colonialism, indigenous peoples are recovering through deliberate modes of revitalisation and resurgence. For the last 20 to 30 years, narratives of cultural revitalisation have been ubiquitous amongst the world's indigenous peoples, with a clear focus on bringing languages back to prominence, some of which went near to extinction,

reflecting how fundamental language is to indigenous culture and identity (McCarty, Nicholas & Wigglesworth, 2019; Thorpe & Galassi, 2014). Revitalisation efforts of course span a wide spectrum of cultural practices from: the arts and broader forms of cultural expression; world views, knowledges and epistemologies; philosophies of social cohesion and a good life; right down to revitalising food systems that re-connect people to place and provide economic and food security to communities (Bagelman, 2018; Duff, 2016; Fenalon & Murguia, 2008).

Indigenous scholars from Canada have developed an explicit discourse and prescriptive process to frame their revitalisation efforts. Their resurgence movement asks that:

> …Indigenous peoples … turn away from this hostile environment [settler colonial state] wherever possible and channel energies into independent programmes of cultural, social, spiritual and physical rejuvenation (Elliot, 2018, p. 1)

Proponents of resurgence argue that the 'turn away' is necessary because settler colonial structures remain "committed to dispossessing indigenous peoples of their lands and self determining authority". They assert that engaging through those structures, even when trying to dismantle them, can "erode the very basis of indigenous resistance by co-opting individuals and communities into forms of life that comport with the colonial order" (Elliot, 2018, p. 5). This scholarly discourse is quite clearly guiding and strengthening revitalisation efforts in Canada (Borrows & Tully, 2018; Simpson, 2016; Alfred and Corntassel, 2005).

The abundance of indigenous literature on the revitalisation and resurgence suggests that indigenous research is supporting those efforts more broadly. In fact, indigenous research itself is an excellent example of this. Not only has the discipline and its scholars constructed safe spaces within academia, its self-reflective nature continually interrogates its own approaches and position within settler colonial structures to guide how indigenous research can genuinely revitalise indigenous research theories and methods without replicating, or 'comporting' with, settler colonial power structures (for example, see discourse on kaupapa Māori research: Smith, 2012; 1999; Pihama, 2010; Eketone, 2008; Walker et al., 2006).

A key observation that becomes apparent here is that these modes of revitalisation and resurgence are also actually modes of resistance. The examples that I have used here are also referenced as resistance narratives. So, while indigenous peoples have progressed into narratives of revitalisation and resurgence, those narratives remain defined by resistance.

This is not problematic for our analysis but becomes important in our interpretation and how we conceptualise indigenous resistance.

Indigenous development

Indigenous peoples have always had their own cultural ideals and forms of cultural, social and economic development, which have been explicitly undermined by the imposition of settler colonial ideals of society and a good life (Hosmer, 2004). Settler colonial ideals of development are preoccupied with the economic component, which often enact exploitative and extractive relationships with the natural environment and its resources (see Bodley, 2015). This not only differs to indigenous development ideals, which are more predicated on reciprocal and sustainable relationships with mother earth, but also often rely on severing those indigenous relationships (Young, 2013; Peredo & McLean, 2010; Chataway, 2004; Lee, 1992). Indigenous peoples are therefore resisting participating in neoliberal free market economic approaches that are inherent to the process of globalisation, and actively revitalising and implementing their own ideals of development (see Bargh, 2007; Hosmer, 2004). These contemporary indigenous modes of development appear much more focussed on social and cultural development, as seen in their processes of revitalisation and resurgence above, and restoring reciprocal relationships with their lands and waters. It is not surprising then that indigenous peoples are often the frontline for halting extractive and exploitative forms of economic development that are common in our global economy (see Bodley, 2015).

The literature on indigenous development has shifted from simply advocating for it, to recognising indigenous development ideals are divergent from hegemonic conceptions, to now explicitly articulating those indigenous ideals and approaches to development. As before, some of the examples I cite here were also included as examples of resistance. Resistance remains the narrative even when indigenous communities engage in their own social, cultural and economic development. The implications of this to how we conceptualise resistance, and then support indigenous peoples to move beyond it, are discussed later.

Indigenous self-determination

The most fundamental acts of settler colonialism are the assertion of sovereignty and installation of government and authority over the national territory. In settler colonial states, these acts have sought to undermine indigenous forms of sovereignty and governance and to

eliminate indigenous peoples or bring them under settler colonial authority and structures of governance. Indigenous peoples have consistently resisted these impositions and are now revitalising and developing their own concepts of sovereignty and systems of governance (Kuokkanen, 2019; Vivian et al., 2017; Sossin, 2012). In doing so, indigenous peoples are self-determining "their political status and freely pursue[ing] their economic, social and cultural development" (United Nations, 2008).

Models of indigenous self-determination have been supported by indigenous scholarship at the local and international levels. Indigenous scholarship and advocacy was fundamental to setting the international standard and definition of self-determination in the UNDRIP, and continues to be so throughout its implementation (Erueti, 2020). At the national, tribal and community level indigenous research remains important in the leveraging of standards like the UNDRIP and in developing more ground up approaches (see Kuokkanen, 2019; Vivian et al., 2017). The discourse around self-determination has changed over time from simply articulating it as an aspiration, to now revitalising and developing indigenous modes of self-determination that are more Nation-based/tribal/community-based approaches unique to each of them and their needs.

As discussed in previous sections, these modes of self-determination also remain as acts of resistance against the settler colonial structures. An excellent case in point surfaced during New Zealand's response to the COVID-19 pandemic while writing this report. Before the nation responded by entering into a state of emergency and eliciting a nation-wide lock-down, Te Whānau ā Apanui (a Māori iwi on the North Island of New Zealand) enacted their own response in their *rohe* (territory). They blocked entrance to all vehicles coming into their *rohe* even via public road. Their actions were widely seen as controversial, but a week or so later Linda Tuhiwai Smith referred to their actions publicly as a clear demonstration of self-determination. Te Whānau ā Apanui invoked their authority in their *rohe* to protect their kaumatua (elderly), over and above the state's authority to regulate movement. This is a clear example of where indigenous self-determination remains as resistance against settler colonial authority.

Decolonisation and progress toward self-determination

It is difficult to definitively deconstruct each of the processes that Smith (2012; 1999; Fig 1) includes in her strategic research agenda. The processes of 'healing', 'mobilization' and

'transformation' are perhaps all quite self-explanatory and have not necessarily received much focussed attention in the literature. The process of 'decolonisation', however, permeates the vast majority of literature in indigenous and settler colonial studies and is also prevalent across wider academic disciplines. By its legal definition, decolonisation is the process by which former colonies become or re-emerge as independent states and legal entities as separate from their colonial progenitor (Veracini, 2007). But this restrictive definition is not how the word is commonly used in indigenous studies discourses (or among indigenous peoples), where the phenomena that are, or need to be, decolonised appear innumerable. Scholars write about decolonising pedagogies, curricula, relationships between settler peoples and indigenous peoples, relationships between indigenous peoples and mining companies and so on (see Veracini, 2005). Many even speak of decolonising the mind (Thiong' O, 1998).

In her book, Smith (2012; 1999) suggests that the process of decolonising methodologies explicitly entails: recognising that western forms of research have monopolised academic research; and, disrupting that monopoly by revitalising indigenous ontological and epistemological constructs to 'research back'. She recognises that there is no one single way of doing this given the multitude of indigenous methodologies that exist. Applying her definition across contexts, decolonisation could be considered the process of challenging western or Eurocentric norms that prevail in settler colonial societies by revitalising and enacting indigenous norms. By this definition, all of the examples of resistance, revitalisation and resurgence, development and even self-determination I mention above are doing exactly that: challenging settler colonial norms and power structures.

Conclusion

Here, I have used Smith's (2012; 1999) strategic indigenous research agenda (Fig 1) as a broad analytical framework to establish how indigenous narratives have shifted between modes of survival and resistance, revitalisation and resurgence, development, and toward self-determination. I've also sought to assess whether indigenous research and scholars have supported movement across those narratives. Although quite subjective, my analysis suggests that indigenous narratives have shifted across the spectrum over time, from being dominated by articulations of survival and resistance to now self-determining various aspects of their own lives. The analysis also suggests that indigenous research is supporting that

progress. A key insight from this analysis is that even though indigenous peoples are self-determining their own social, cultural and economic development and revitalising their cultures and identities, all of these acts are still modes of resistance when set against the ever- and omni-present settler colonial power structures. This perhaps requires us to reconceptualise how we think about resistance. It is not a narrative from which indigenous peoples can simply progress into another with hard work and determination. Indigenous lives of resistance are defined by settler colonial oppression. For indigenous people to live life free of resistance requires those oppressive structures to be dismantled.

These insights validate the use of Smith's strategic research agenda as an analytical framework here and provides an impetus to refine the tool and its use. As an analytical framework, Smith's (2012; 1999) agenda was limited by the specificity of the terms it uses. Firstly, there are many words that are interchangeable with indigenous and my database searches were restricted to those synonymous terms that I am familiar with. Broadening those terms out or perhaps developing more localised forms of the strategic research agenda would aid in the robustness of the searches and the specificity of the analysis. Similarly, the 'states of being' (or narratives as I refer to them) in Smith's (2012; 1999) agenda will have various synonyms that are specific to different peoples and places. Again, broadening the terms used or developing localised forms of the research agenda would help. Improvements could also be made on my haphazard and subjective interrogation of the literature. More structured searches of databases and more quantitative and even statistical analyses of the literature could draw out a more specific chronology of movement of indigenous narratives and a clearer articulation of where and how indigenous scholarship has supported that movement. More generally, this method could be used to direct the efforts of indigenous communities and scholars to be more strategic in attaining self-determination across all aspects of their lives.

I would finish by returning to the opening epigraph. Corntassel (2008) remarks on the long-term vision set by Deskaheh and his people in their articulations, despite the apparent failure for their immediate cause. Indeed, they set the stage and agenda for the development of the indigenous self-determination discourse. My analysis here is another demonstration of the depth of vision inherent to Smith's (2012; 1999) seminal book, which has stimulated and guided much indigenous scholarship and movement of indigenous narratives since. It appears

the book may have even more to offer. While Smith does not elaborate too much on the development of the strategic indigenous research agenda (Fig 1; Smith 2012, p. 121; 1999, p. 117), it seems visionary in how it foresaw a trajectory for these indigenous narratives to emerge from over twenty years ago. It has also been visionary in how it gave indigenous research a strategic objective to support the achievement of those narratives. Whether or not it was deliberate of Smith or other indigenous scholars, it has worked. Now there may be further utility for that agenda to direct indigenous efforts and even to provide a basis to develop a reciprocal settler colonial research agenda to dismantle settler colonial power structures. I develop this idea in the next and final essay.

ESSAY 3

A strategic settler colonial research agenda: turning the microscope to move beyond indigenous resistance

"How can you become and work towards being a non-oppressive subject … how do we theorise about giving up power? All the theories tell you about what power is, but nobody wants to theorise about how do you actually give it up. I put that out to feminists 15 years ago - still haven't got any answer …" (Moreton-Robinson, 2016 , 1 hr in)

Introduction

The opening epigraph for this essay is an earnest question from Aileen Moreton-Robinson, a Goenpul woman (from Stradbroke Island in Queensland) and leading indigenous scholar in Australia. The question is one that she raised through her PhD that was later published as a book in 1999, *Talking up to the white woman: Indigenous women and feminism in Australia*. To paraphrase, she was asking us not to consider what indigenous women should do to take back their power in feminist discourses, but instead what white women can do to stop monopolising the power or to turn away from enacting it. And it seems that in 2016, still no one had an answer for her. In this specific context she is asking the question of indigenous-settler colonial race relations. As an invited speaker at an *Indigenous Foucault* event at the University of Alberta in Canada, Moreton-Robinson spoke at length about the whys and wherefores of using a non-indigenous philosopher (Foucault) to understand and theorise indigenous experiences and frame them explicitly within his theories of power. While not a blatant advocate for the use of Foucault's theories of power, I would paraphrase her sentiment as: if it's useful, then do it. The quote in the epigraph was simply an earnest response to a question from the audience after delivering her talk. It was the part that hit home most for me. In it she is pointing out the limitation of theories of power (including Foucault's) suggesting that "nobody wants to theorise about how do you give it up". But most importantly she is asking us not to theorise about how indigenous peoples are subject to coloniser power or how they can take it back, she's asking us to theorise about how settler colonial peoples and governments can give up that power or turn away from enacting it. This

is the exact purpose of this whole research report and is the focus of this chapter. Here, I suggest a structure for a strategic settler colonial research agenda that seeks to dismantle settler colonial power structures and free indigenous peoples from lives defined by resistance. The model that I propose is based on and reciprocal to Smith's (2012; 1999) conceptual model of a strategic indigenous research agenda that has supported indigenous communities to achieve self-determination in various aspects of their lives. A reciprocal settler colonial research agenda may similarly support settler colonial communities and governments to move out of their perpetual narratives of dominance and subjugation and toward narratives that see them relinquish power.

The previous two essays of this research report are broad ranging but structured reviews of the literature, that make explicit some core elements of indigenous narratives and how we research them. The first essay is a chronological examination of how indigenous peoples and their narratives have been defined and understood through academic research. From the early days of misrepresentation by outsider researchers giving their accounts of the indigenous 'other', to now, where indigenous scholars have taken control and power back to define their own communities and narratives (Smith, 2012; 1999). Importantly, it also makes explicit that indigenous narratives are intrinsically linked to and defined by settler colonial narratives. It follows that seeking change for indigenous narratives requires change in the settler colonial. Fortunately, the role of settler colonial narratives in defining indigenous experiences has received thorough treatment in settler colonial studies literature to give us a clear picture of the settler colonial side of the duality (Veracini, 2015). What is more, a new discipline is emerging, indigenous-settler colonial relations, that is intent on understanding relations between indigenous and settler colonial peoples with a view to making them more respectful and equitable (Maddison & Nakata, 2020).

In the second essay I use Smith's (2012; 1999) strategic indigenous research agenda as an analytical framework to examine whether indigenous narratives have shifted over time toward self-determination, and how indigenous research has supported those shifts. Indigenous narratives have progressed, with literature on revitalisation and resurgence becoming prevalent and stories of self-determination starting to emerge more recently. However, given the prevailing structures of settler colonialism even self-determining actions are inherently narratives of resistance. This changes how we think about indigenous

resistance. It is not a stage from which indigenous peoples can move onto another. Indigenous resistance will exist as long as settler colonial power structures exist. The only way to move out of resistance is to dismantle those power structures.

In this essay, I consolidate and respond to these issues that emerged. I first illustrate why indigenous peoples remain stuck in narratives of resistance despite their progress towards self-determination (Fig 2), then propose a structure for a strategic settler colonial research agenda to theorise the dismantling the structures of settler colonialism that keep indigenous peoples in resistance (Fig 3).

Resisting elimination

Literature articulating how settler colonial narratives define the indigenous experience are ubiquitous (Carey & Silverstein, 2020; Veracini, 2015; Wolfe, 2006). The natural order of the settler colonial condition is to assert and maintain sovereignty over the national territory. Indigenous peoples are a direct threat to that sovereignty and so settler colonialism seeks to eliminate them. As discussed in essay two, there are many ways in which settler colonialism seeks to eliminate indigenous peoples. There are documented narratives of: genocide; dispossession from lands and waters; dispossession from culture and identity; denying citizenship and status as first peoples; erasure through restrictive indigenous identity markers; and the list goes on. Other key verbs that appear in the literature are: conquer; displace; dominate; subjugate; exploit; exclude; expel; steal; deny; exterminate; extirpate; intervene; control; define and delimit; remove; erase; dispossess; contain; deprive; and, appropriate. It is evident that eliminating indigenous peoples is not a linear or defined process. New means of elimination continue to evolve and are often invisible. While some of these processes can appear as one-off events, they are simply expressions of the much larger and perpetual power structure that is inherent to settler colonialism (Veracini, 2015; Wolfe, 2006).

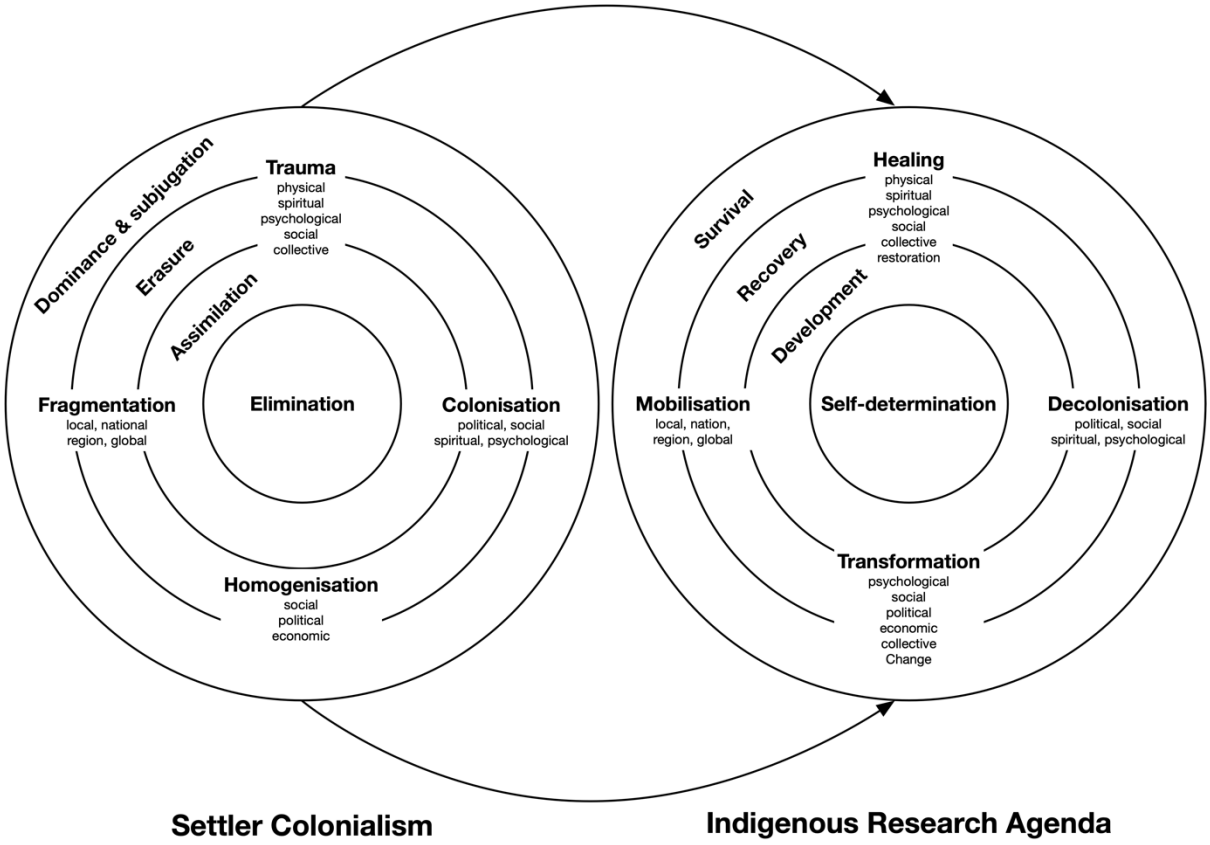

Figure 2: Smith's (2012; 1999) strategic indigenous research agenda set against a conceptualisation of existing and ongoing narratives of settler colonialism. As demonstrated in essay two, indigenous narratives can and have moved toward resurgence, development and even self-determination and that indigenous research has supported those moves. However, as long as the settler colonial power structures that seek indigenous elimination remain, all indigenous narratives will be modes of resistance.

Figure 2 is a conceptualisation of how settler colonial structures dominate and subjugate indigenous peoples and seek to eliminate them. It illustrates why indigenous narratives cannot move beyond resistance even if they do achieve modes of self-determination. It is based on and includes Smith's (2012; 1999) strategic indigenous research agenda, which explicitly sets the objective for indigenous peoples to achieve self-determination. Juxtaposed with Smith's research agenda is a second model that has the same form but represents the settler colonial condition, to recognise the intrinsic link between the two. I have also included one-way arrows leading from the settler colonialism side of the duality toward the indigenous side to represent the active role of settler colonialism on indigenous peoples. At the core of the settler colonialism I have included 'elimination' as the objective. In the outer concentric circles, I have included various other terms taken from the literature, including: 'dominance and subjugation', 'erasure' and 'assimilation'. I have also mirrored Smith's model by including

terms that could be considered counter to the processes that she articulates in her model. They include: 'colonisation'; 'homogenisation'; 'fragmentation'; and, 'trauma'. All of these broader details are included only for illustrative purposes. In reality settler colonialism cannot fit this model, and that is the point. Smith's strategic research agenda seeks self-determination for indigenous peoples – settler colonialism is inherently opposed to that. This fact will keep indigenous narratives stuck in resistance no matter how self-determining they act. The only way out of resistance is to re-conceptualise the settler colonialism side of the duality to articulate an aspirational and strategic goal for the settler colonial narrative, and define processes that help to achieve that goal. This re-conceptualisation should complement and be reciprocal to Smith's (2012; 1999) strategic indigenous research agenda.

Developing a strategic settler colonial research agenda

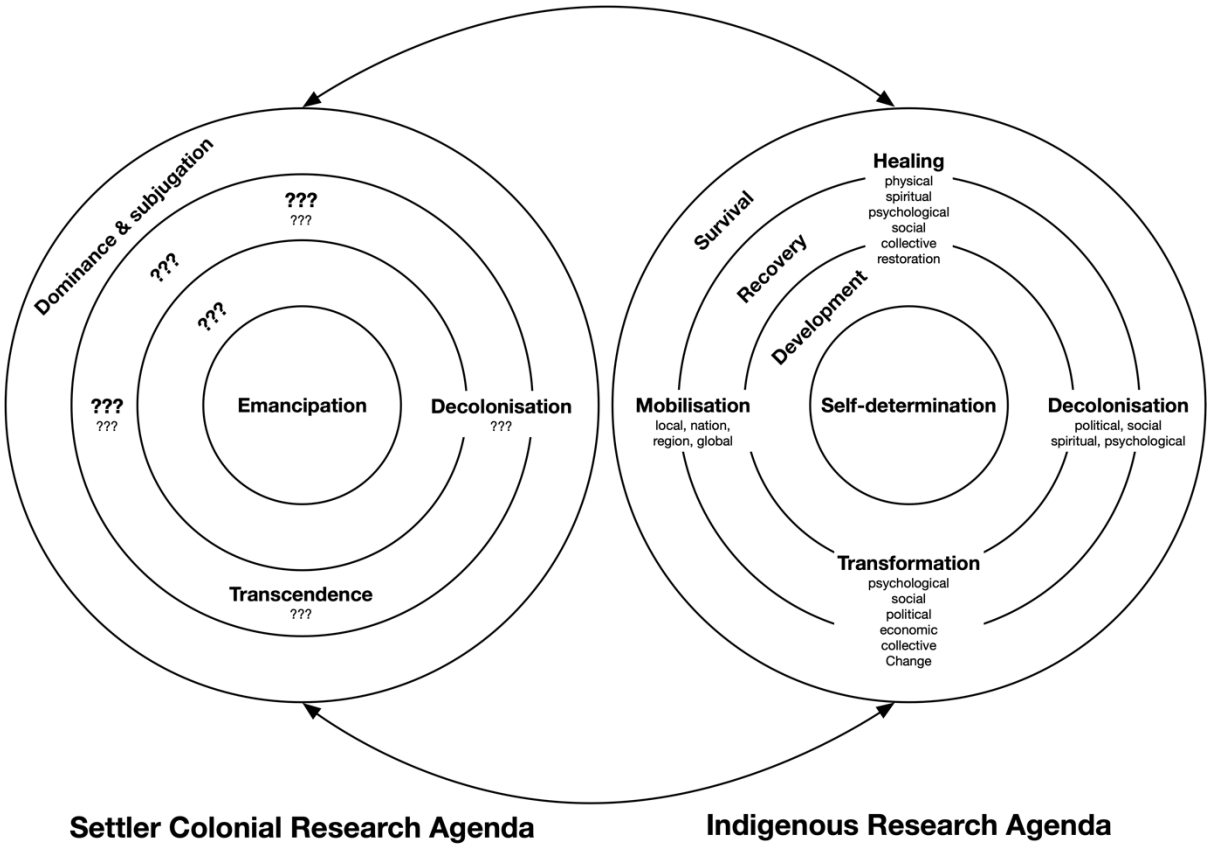

Figure 3: Smith's (2012; 1999) strategic indigenous research agenda set against a conceptualisation of what settler colonial narratives should be. As Smith did in her strategic indigenous research agenda, the proposed structure will support indigenous and settler colonial scholars to theorise how settler colonial narratives can shift toward emancipation (or something of the like), the processes that are required to support those shifts, and then to implement research methodologies that strategically shift settler colonial narratives.

Figure 3 suggests a framework for the development of a strategic settler colonial research agenda. It takes the structure of Figure 2 but articulates an aspirational settler colonial side of the duality that complements and supports the objectives of the indigenous side. In the outer concentric circle, I have kept the current state of 'dominance and subjugation' as the base narrative that we want to move from. It also fits because it is reciprocal to the adjacent indigenous narrative. In its centre I have set the objective narrative of 'emancipation', whereby settler colonial peoples emancipate indigenous peoples (not be emancipated themselves) from lives of resistance. This term appears frequently in the literature (see Veracini, 2015) and seems the most apt to support indigenous self-determination. Similarly, the remaining two concentric circles should include terms that are complementary and reciprocal to their adjacent indigenous narratives: revival and development. I have included 'decolonisation' as a key process that is discussed in the literature (see Veracini, 2015) and may support movement across settler colonial narratives. I have also included 'transcendence' as a process that is mentioned in settler colonial studies literature (Veracini, 2015), but is given greater definition in Yancy's (2012) writing in whiteness studies. Transcendence requires white people to self-reflect and sit in the uncomfortableness of their unearned privilege and the invisible power structures that maintain it. Settler colonial engagement in this process of transcendence or similar, may make power structures that they enact more visible and encourage change. The terms I have included are those that made immediate sense to me. All elements of the strategic settler colonial research agenda remain up for discussion. My only intent is to suggest the structure and process for its development.

There are many other terms frequently used across indigenous, settler colonial and whiteness studies literature that may be applicable to this strategic settler colonial research agenda. The benefit of having such a strategic agenda is that those discourses can be more structured and explicitly directed toward indigenous emancipation. Veracini's (2015) *The Settler Colonial Present,* is a good place to start. In it, he provides a thorough treatment of the many ways in which settler colonial peoples engage in solidarity with indigenous peoples. He deals with the concept of emancipation in great depth and suggests there are different forms with some that even reinforce the structures of settler colonialism. He also deals explicitly with the processes of decolonisation and indigenisation as related but distinct process that can also be problematic. Indigenous scholarly literature has particular potential to support this work. It

provides broad and robust discourses from which to theorise and populate the settler colonial research agenda but will also provide a profound discourse on the best approaches to implement that agenda. Given the history of the disciplines as outlined in essay one, there is immense potential to find appropriate and well thought out processes to establish strategic settler colonial research agenda that is effective. Even if gaps remain, they will stimulate new discourses that are needed.

Conclusion

This research report and particularly this essay proposes a structure for the development of a strategic settler colonial research agenda. This initiative recognises the intrinsic link and duality of indigenous and settler colonial narratives and that even indigenous modes of self-determination can only be acts of resistance when set against the ever-present settler colonial structures of oppression. Developing a strategic settler colonial research agenda provides a structure through which scholars can theorise how to dismantle those settler colonial power structures. The model I have proposed builds on Smith's (2012; 1999) strategic indigenous research agenda first published in 1999. Although it has received little attention since, it has proven successful as a strategic research agenda, and as an analytical framework earlier in this report. Developing a strategic settler colonial research agenda based on this existing model leverages off its success and gives some confidence in its ability to move settler colonial narratives.

The proposed structure of the model is also responsive to calls from scholars of indigenous and settler colonial studies to theorise the dismantling of settler colonialism. Moreton-Robinson's (2016) challenge in the opening epigraph is a perfect case in point, and those sentiments have been shared more widely. Veracini (2019a) gives a thorough overview of how settler colonial studies has been criticised as a discipline for simply deliberating on the form of settler colonial power structures without a directed discourse for breaking them down. Scholars of the discipline and more widely are now calling for that theorisation. Indeed, a strategic settler colonial research agenda that is complementary and reciprocal to the strategic indigenous research agenda appears to be exactly what is being called for:

> … a contextual approach to the questions of settler colonialism, settlers, and solidarity. It is ultimately about accountability to each other, as the Tsalagi word, digadatsele'I suggests, and treating Indigenous resurgence as a process that cannot occur in isolation. This … demands a centering of and support for

> Indigenous resurgences, and a shift from a one-dimensional to a relational approach to settler colonial analyses that is connected to the issue of other Others." (Snelgrove et al., 2014, p. 27)

What is even more appropriate is that the model is based on the work of a leading indigenous scholar, addressing the assertion that indigenous scholars should lead on theorising indigenous emancipation. It is also incredibly helpful that it is based on work from Smith's (2012; 1999) seminal book, as most scholars engaged in the discourse will already have it on their bookshelves for easy reference.

Building from the success of indigenous research and Smith's research agenda, it may also be useful for transforming the research approach of settler colonial and whiteness studies. It is clear that indigenous research celebrates and embeds the subjectivity, relationality and therefore responsibility of the researcher and their research to their research subjects. The ethical responsibilities that come with that are front and centre in indigenous theories and methodologies and a clear outcome of this approach is that their indigenous research subjects realise their agency to live and define their narratives (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Denzin & Lincoln, 2008; Pihama, 2010; Brant Castellano, 2004). From a reading of settler colonial and whiteness studies research, this is not the case there. I would argue that it needs to be, and that indigenous research methodologies and ethics need to be employed in developing and enacting a strategic settler colonial research agenda. For the agenda to be successful, it must imbibe a sense of agency, responsibility and empowerment for its settler colonial people to enact change in their own narratives to effect change in indigenous narratives.

It is also important that the agenda be broadly applicable. While my use of Smith's indigenous research agenda as an analytical framework suggested that it may not fit all circumstances or all indigenous narratives, it also demonstrated that it can be adapted to more localised and specific analyses. As a framework it has utility to insert more localised expressions for indigenous narratives or to limit the analysis to specific contexts. Similarly, the strategic settler colonial research agenda proposed here may be amenable to theorising at the international level, or at more local scales, and for specific purposes.

I want to finish by returning to the current focus of indigenous scholarship on theorising new modes of resistance to adapt to evolving modes of settler colonial oppression. Brendan Hokowhitu (2011b) calls for "diligence in understanding the Indigenous condition, as opposed to repeating action for action's sake" suggesting that old modes of resistance may be

ineffective or even harmful (Hokowhitu, 2011b, p. 211). I agree but argue that the indigenous condition is defined by settler colonial actions. We need to understand the settler colonial condition and change it to see change in the indigenous experience. Simply put, the best defence is a good offense. My hope is that this research report and the strategic settler colonial research agenda it proposes supports indigenous scholars to structure an effective indigenous offense to dismantle settler colonial power structures.

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